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SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF HETEROGENEITY AMONG FOREIGN MIGRANTS: RESEARCH AND POLICY CHALLENGES

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Abstract

Migration is a key feature of a modern and open society. A new feature is that migration shows a high degree of heterogeneity and hence has various complex impacts on the economy. This paper aims to map out the causes and consequences of heterogeneous immigration flows. It sets out a policy research agenda based on a SWOT analysis.

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1. People on the Move

Migration is a feature of mankind in all periods of history. It was sometimes prompted on a voluntary basis by economic motives (the 'gastarbeiter' phenomenon), but at times also by brutal forces of politics or nature. Although migration is thus an 'old' phenomenon, it has gained over the past decades new meaning and significance in Europe (see, e.g., Ali-Ali and Koser 2002, Bommes and Morawski 2005, and Zimmermann 2005). This region has become a prominent immigration area in our open world: over the past three decades, the foreign-born population has shown an increase in Europe that is far higher than in any other part of the world. In a few decades, the number of people living outside their country of birth nearly tripled (see IOM 2003).

Foreign immigration in Europe, however, is not just a qualitative rise in population size; it has also led to a qualitative change from a socio-economic and ethnic-cultural perspective due to heterogeneity of migrants in terms of age, gender, education, income, skills, economic position, cultural habits, or aspiration. In general, migrants and natives are not close substitutes. Consequently, foreign migration has significant socio-economic impacts on both the country of origin and of destination (see, e.g., Massey et al. 1993, Osborne 2006, Ranis 2007, and Vasta and Vaddamalay 2006).

The present paper will address in particular the impacts of heterogeneous migration flows on the socio-economic profile and performance of host countries or host regions (often, the bigger cities). In many countries in Europe, we observe a negative stigma of foreign migrants, although in many cases such a negative image of foreign migration is not supported by empirical facts. Clearly, an excessive degree of fractionalization among population of a country may incur high externalities and transaction costs (see, e.g., Florax et al. 2005, Schelling 1971), but a balanced level of socio-economic diversity may prompt positive spillovers and productivity effects, as suggested in the 'bonding and bridging' literature related to social capital of migrant communities (see, e.g., Putnam 2000) or the mixed embeddedness concept (see, e.g., Kloosterman and Rath 2001). A review of the economic impacts of foreign migrants on local or regional socio-economic systems is found in Longhi et al. (2009).

A noteworthy development in Europe is that, whereas this continent was largely an emigration region after World War II, it became gradually an immigration region. Even countries which for decades were emigration countries (e.g., Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Ireland, Norway or Finland) became from the 1980s onwards immigration countries, although their migration policy did not keep pace with this reversal in trends.

Another important observation is the spatial and socio-economic diversity involved with the influx of foreign migrants in Europe. Not only did the new waves of migrants display a distinct heterogeneous character compared to the host population, but also the spatial residence

pattern of new migrants led to a geographical imbalance, with a major concentration of foreign-born people in the large cities in Europe. This unevenness did not only create tensions on the labour market, but also in the daily living space in cities.

According to Penninx et al. (2008), in the new geography of migration three prominent groups of migrants can traditionally be distinguished from the perspective of their background and origin: (i) migration with a colonial background; (ii) labour migration to a number of countries with a labour shortage; (iii) refugee migration. Clearly, in the meantime the pattern of migration has become more dynamic, with new phenomena, such as family reunification migration, knowledge migration, expatriates migration and illegal migration.

Modern migration flows exhibit thus a complex pattern that is characterized by a multidimensional heterogeneity. It is, therefore, conceivable that several countries, regions and cities in Europe wonder about the socio-economic and socio-cultural benefits of migration, a question that is also strongly prompted by anti-immigration sentiments. In the present paper we will provide a systematic sketch of the various possible benefits involved and offer a sketch of a research agenda that may address the various unanswered question involved. The paper will be concluded with an outline of a policy agenda.

2. Heterogeneous Migration Patterns in Europe

Europe is facing nowadays unprecedented demographic shifts. A growing number of European countries has a negative natural population growth (Lorant 2005). From a global perspective, the share of Europe's population in the total world population declined from approx. 25% a century ago to 13% at the beginning of the new millennium, and this negative trend still continues and may lead to a 5% share of Europe in the total world population in a century from now.

A rise in population in Europe may only be expected from immigration, but its size in the long term is hard to predict due to economic and political uncertainties. An additional effect of immigration is that it may temper – but certainly not solve – the current ageing tendencies in Europe, as migrants belong in general to a younger age cohort and may in the long run also create a higher birth rate, at least during one generation (see also Münz et al. 2006).

Migration will, in general, impact on longevity (life expectancy) in a country and its fertility, so that the ageing structure will be influenced as well, which will not only have implications for social security systems but also for the functioning of labour markets. On the other hand, the labour force participation of many migrants and their earning capacity is below average, so that a precise estimate is hard to give. The experiences from the Mariel Boat Lift with the influx of Cubans in 1980 and from the Fall of the Berlin Wall did not create any disaster

on local markets of host countries. An interesting review of demographic change and regional competitiveness as a consequence of immigration and ageing can be found in Poot (2008).

We may expect that, as 'the world becomes flatter' (Friedman 2006), access to and use of immigration systems becomes easier for a large number of citizens. This is clearly instigated by modern telecommunication systems which brings almost each country within reach for many people and which induces a rise in geographical mobility patterns. Whether or not strict migration laws will in the long run be able to control an unlimited migration drift remains to be seen. This question prompts of course new research on the effectiveness of migration regulations, institutions and laws.

The EU enlargement (with 10+2 countries) has meant an enormous challenge for social and migration policy all over Europe. The EU has not adopted a uniform migration policy for migrants from the new accession countries, so that the overall picture is one of an uncoordinated patchwork of rules and exceptions, each instigated by an assessment of the expected implications on the labour market (crowding-out effects in terms of (un)employment and wages). Clearly, these migrants are not uniformly distributed over all economic sectors, but are mainly concentrated in the hospitality sector, construction, agriculture, transport, health care and manufacturing. Furthermore, there are also clear age cohort and gender differences between migrants and natives.

It is noteworthy that the overall migration movement in Europe after the accession of the 10+2 countries was largely in agreement with the predictions made in advance, although there were clearly significant regional differences in the same country (see also Bauer and Zimmermann 1999). As long as there are significant wage differences among EU countries, there will be a case for foreign immigration among the EU countries (see for an illustration Figure 1). It is obvious that a balance between wages in the EU-15 countries and the EU-10+2 countries will take a long time. Even if wages in the EU-10+2 would rise twice as much as those in the EU-15, it would take a generation to bridge 50% of the current gap.

Heterogeneity in economic agents means essentially socio-economic diversity that is reflected inter alia in wage and (un)employment differences (cf. Ottoviano and Peri 2006). There is some evidence in the literature that cultural diversity in a society tends to slow down economic growth (see, e.g., Easterly and Levine 1997, Angrist and Kugler 2003, Alesina and La Ferrara 2005). However, as correctly argued by Bellini et al. (2008), the above findings call for some qualification, as the ultimate impact of diversity depends also on institutional ramifications in society, on income distribution and equity patterns, on social and creative capital and on socio-cultural relations in society (see, e.g., Jacobs 1961, Collier 2001, Easterly 2001, de Graaff et al. 2009). It should be noted that many of such findings are based on cross-sectional analyses that do not allow for incorporating spatio-temporal dynamics in economic growth data, while neither

individual data – for instance, on a longitudinal basis – are taken into consideration. In conclusion, migration research is a complex field that is fraught with many complex intervening relationships among heterogeneous people, which prompts various research challenges. These will be concisely outlined in Section 3.

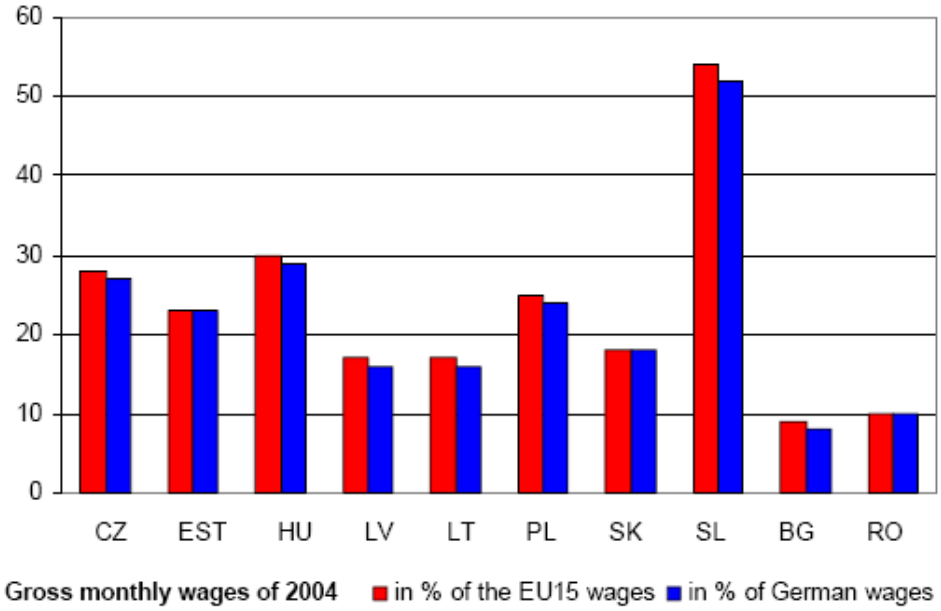

Figure 1. Wage gap between old/new EU members
Source: Dresdner Bank (2005)

3. Research Challenges on Heterogeneous Immigration Flows

Migration is a complex phenomenon which exhibits a great diversity and a correspondingly variety in socio-economic and cultural behaviours. The motivations and responses of migrants can be understood by distinguishing migration flows according to the legal channels through which they have entered a host country: lawful permanent residents (including first- and second-generation legal migrants), humanitarian migrants (in particular, refugees and asylum seekers), temporary workers and students, and unauthorized (or illegal) migrants. These various groups have different life styles and positions on the labour market, and hence different socio-economic implications for society.

Migrants also exhibit a vast diversity in terms of age, gender, skills, language, country of origin, ability to work, flexibility to adjust, etc. A generic and unambiguous conclusion on the socio-economic effects of migration in the host country is thus hard to draw. The European migration history in the past decades shows a great variety in migration patterns, compositions and effects (see, e.g., Bauer and Zimmermann 1997, Borjas 1994, Card 2001, Grossman 1982,

Hatton and Tani 2005, Pischke and Velling 1997, Pissarides and McMaster 1990, Tani 2003, Zimmermann 1995, 1997). This complex pattern of population moves prompts various socio-economic benefits, costs and externalities.

An older but nevertheless still interesting study on spatial neighbourhood externalities of migrants – including diversity and segregation effects – was provided in Schelling's (1978) model on locational dynamics, and subsequent studies by Laurie and Jaggi (2003) and Portugali (2000). These sociological studies addressed the quantitative coherence or diversity dimensions of a mix of people with different ethnic backgrounds in the same place. Less attention was given to qualitative factors, such as intensity of interactions and degrees of difference in ethnic characteristics, and this has in recent years become a focal point.

The issue of heterogeneity in immigration flows has become a prominent research and policy topic in Europe, especially after the enlargement of the EU with Central- and Eastern European countries. By opening up the labour markets in all these countries – after some transition period – both positive impacts and serious threats were envisaged as a consequence of free movement of labour. But the size and sign of such effects is depending on the nature and volume of the pertinent migration flows.

There is indeed much uncertainty on both the size of migration flows (temporary or structural, allocation of various countries and regions) and the composition of these flows (levels of education, age, gender etc.) (see e.g., Ederveen et al. 2007). The impact assessment of new migrants can take place in various ways: standard economic supply-demand analysis with wages as the critical variable, comparative study based on information from past migration behaviour, or meta-analysis based on quantitative comparative research synthesis (see Longhi et al. 2009). The empirical evidence from many empirical studies on positive or negative impacts of immigrants on local wages or employment of natives is ambiguous, and depends on the degree of substitutability or complementarity between immigrants and natives, and between new immigrants and previous cohorts. A low degree of substitutability between natives and immigrants may imply that crowding-out effects do not take place, so that empirical research will not find an overwhelming effect of immigrants on local wages or employment (see e.g. Borjas 2005, Winter-Ebner and Zweimuller 1996, Johannsson and Weiler 2004). Thus, in general, the answer on the expected impact of immigrants depends on the question whether or not natives and migrants may be considered as close substitutes: more diversity tends to lead even to a rise in wages and employment of natives, especially the higher-wage cohorts (the diversity paradox).

Heterogeneity in immigration may create a diversified society that may generate socio-economic returns in case of socio-cultural acceptance by natives and interactive behaviour by immigrants (see Alesina and La Ferrara 2005 and Lazear 1999). Clearly, to study such effects

more thoroughly two research hurdles have to be overcome, viz. the measurement of diversity in a multicultural society (e.g., through the use of the Herfindahl-Hirschman index) and the measurement and impact assessment of qualitative factors that determine diversity (e.g. culture, language, religion, skills, wealth etc.). An interesting recent study can be found in Ottaviano and Peri (2008).

Another question related to foreign immigration is whether an inflow of migrants – especially skilled migrants – increases the innovativeness or economic performance of the host region (see, for empirical studies, inter alia Antecol et al. 2003, Card 2005, Chander and Thangavelu 2004, and Greenwood and McDowell 1991). There are many anecdotal observations on this phenomenon (e.g. the UK, Canada, New Zealand, Israel), but a solid analysis framework is still largely missing (see, e.g., House of Lords 2008).

An exception is an original study by Partridge and Furtan (2008) who studied the impact of skilled migrants on innovation and competitiveness in Canada. By using an extended production function incorporating knowledge components (in particular, ideas) they were able to analyze the effect of different skill levels of migrants on innovation (in particular, patents) at the provincial level in Canada. They found that skilled migrants (especially those from developed countries), who are proficient in English or French, tend to have a positive influence on innovation in their home province. Another study on this issue can be found in Ozgen et al. (2010), who studied the impact of migrants of various natures on innovation and patents in a region or city.

In an open and global world characterized by a rising urbanization degree, modern cities function as the habitat of international migrants and magnets of economic growth, in which SMEs are a source of new jobs, business dynamics and innovation. Migrant entrepreneurs form a significant part of the SME sector in our cities and may hence be important vehicles for urban vitality. Usually, these migrant entrepreneurs have to work in an unfamiliar and risky business environment. However, they may tend to be risk-avoiding and hence concentrate on traditional market segments (e.g., markets for ethnic products). Consequently, they may be less entrepreneurially-oriented in terms of risk attitudes concerning undertaking innovative business activities. Reliance on social networks of their own socio-cultural group may guarantee a certain market share, but may at the same time hamper an outreach strategy towards new and innovative markets (e.g., high-tech/ICT). Woolcock (1998) claimed that reliance on the own migrant group and its related networks is both developmental and destructive. According to Menzies et al. (2003), an orientation on the own group is even mainly a benefit to migrant entrepreneurs. And Portes and Jensen (1989) referred to the effects of some degree of monopolistic power in migrant entrepreneurship regarding better access to a relatively protected market. Nevertheless, Lyer and Shapiro (1999) suggested that competition among migrant entrepreneurs serving the same limited market niche may increase businesses failure, especially if the market size is relatively

small. Against this background, modern cities tend to become great laboratories of creative entrepreneurship indeed.

Another research issue concerns the role of regulatory systems that govern migration, especially entry into a foreign country. Such systems may refer to government rules (e.g. so-called Schengen agreements), family re-unification, legal status, irregular migration, residence permits, or political participation. There is certainly a need for a more comprehensive and systematic comparative analysis of regulatory impacts on immigration and migrants' integration.

And finally, from an economic perspective there is a great need for a proper estimation of the costs and benefits of immigration. A systematic presentation of the various issues involved can be found in Münz et al. (2006), but there is clearly a need for a solid quantitative assessment of the economic pros and cons of all factors involved, for instance, in the form of a systematic migration and cost-benefit analysis (see for an interesting attempt Strutt et al. 2008). It would be a great challenge to design a migration balance sheet in which all pros and cons of migrant flows for different migrant groups and for different sectors of society would be systematic recorded (see also Poot 2008).

4. Policy Challenges on Heterogeneous Migration

In recent years, many countries – especially in Europe – have faced the question whether – and to what extent – migrant diversity (based on different origin and socio-economic cultural characteristics) offers a potentially favourable contribution to welfare of the host regions. During the last three decades, the foreign-born population has increased more in Europe than in any other part of the world. At the same time, migration flows have become increasingly diverse in socio-economic and ethnic-cultural terms. Recently, the global economic downturn is starting to lower immigration, in some cases increase return migration, and impact differentially on migrants and communities (e.g. Papademetriou and Terrazas 2009). Such trends are profoundly affecting the population size and composition of the regions and nations in Europe, with potentially significant consequences for economic development and the welfare state. Immigration may create unprecedented opportunities for host countries, but leads also to serious concerns and challenges.

Heterogeneous immigration may affect the host economy through different channels and the net impact could vary dependent on the strength of these effects, which the proposed project aims to measure. Workers with different cultural backgrounds represent complementary skills, problem-solving abilities, ideas and aspirations. The phenomenon of bonding and bridging social capital in migrant communities is also of importance here (see e.g. Putnam 2000). The interaction of these workers with the host population increases productivity due to knowledge spillovers or other forms of positive externalities (the socio-cultural mixed embeddedness

hypothesis, see e.g. Kloosterman and Rath 2001). This is only an advantage up to a certain degree. When the variety of the backgrounds is too diverse, fractionalization may imply excessive transaction costs for communication (the 'Babylon effect'; see Florax et al. 2005) and therefore lower productivity. Moreover, the effects of diversity may also operate through a different channel by affecting the quality of life in a location. A tolerant native population may value a multicultural region because of an increase in the range of available goods and services (see also Baycan-Levent 2009). On the other hand, diversity could be perceived as an unattractive feature, e.g., if natives recognize it as a distortion of national identity. They might even discriminate other ethnic groups and they might fear that social conflicts between different foreign nationalities are imported into their own neighbourhood. Because of the spatial selectivity of migration, the impacts of the aforementioned mechanisms are likely to be amplified at the regional level.

Very recently, a promising start has been made with the analysis of these interrelationships between cultural diversity and the economic performance of European regions (Bellini et al. 2008). This research finds that there is a causal link from migrant diversity to regional productivity in 12 EU countries. Moreover, for a specific set of local labour markets in western Germany it has been found that such diversity interacts with skills: even though a greater share of unskilled foreign workers may yield negative wage and employment effects, greater diversity among a given share of unskilled workers has positive productivity effects (Suedekum et al. 2008).

Research to date on the links between migrant diversity and economic outcomes has focussed primarily on cross-sectional differences in productivity. But there is a clear need to focus on the impact on long-run growth, thus providing new insights into causes of (regional) convergence or persistent disparity within Europe. This topic has yielded a large literature (see, e.g., the references in Paas and Schlitte 2008), in which unfortunately the specific international migration dimension has been largely ignored.

The recent literature on agglomeration economies is also important when considering migrant diversity. It has been shown that industrial diversity has positive effects on employment development (Blien et al. 2006) and this could be connected to cultural diversity. The size of a region and the concentration of economic activities and of interactions within the population might be very important for the optimal degree of diversity. This links directly to the literature on growth in cities, in which the roles of specialisation, competition and diversity have been recently identified by means of a meta-analysis (de Groot et al. 2009).

There are other approaches that can also contribute to further theoretical development. Granovetter's (1973) famous paper on the strength of weak ties underlines that a segregated population may have strong ties within the separate communities but not develop ties across

other communities. A population which additionally has weak ties across such community boundaries could mobilize complementarities in productive capacities easier. Finally, it will be clear that the selectivity and diversity of migration flows are affected strongly by the provisions and institutions of the welfare state. It is clear that there is a strong policy dimension to the interrelationship between cultural diversity and socio-economic outcomes. While human rights legislation would prohibit selection on grounds of race, religion or culture, migration policy may indirectly influence the composition of migration through introducing skills-based criteria and through the generosity of the welfare state. A trend is emerging in which temporary flows are increasingly important relative to conventional settlement on foreign soil (Poot et al. 2008). On the supply-side this trend is driven by lower mobility costs and greater international connectivity, but on the demand side incentive-compatible and time-consistent temporary migration schemes are encouraged as the anticipated net social and economic benefits are greater vis-à-vis more conventional permanent and guest worker programs. Temporary and permanent migration flows are affected strongly by the provisions and institutions of the welfare state. For example, the welfare state may lead to emigration of the highly skilled and immigration of low skilled persons. An important question is, therefore, the size and composition of inward and outward migration on financing the welfare state and the design of optimal welfare policy and taxation policy.

The standard neoclassical perspective in economics suggests that migration contributes to regional convergence in terms of wages and income per capita. However, modern endogenous growth and new economy geography models suggest that due to agglomeration effects, sorting amongst heterogeneous migrants, and policies to draw the “creative class” to attractive urban areas, socio-economic divergence may result (e.g., Longhi et al. 2006). The existence of positive, endogenously generated, growth in the areas that attract immigration – due to e.g. migrant entrepreneurship and the acceleration of investment – is referred to as the Greenwood hypothesis in the literature (see e.g. Gorter et al. 1998, p. 27). It is in this context particularly important to disentangle the cultural diversity effect from that of a range of other externalities that together account for the agglomeration advantages.

A growing literature both in sociology and in economics focuses on the impact of ethnic composition on social outcomes (e.g. Antunes and Gaitz 1975, Platt 2006). For example, De Graaff et al. (2009) considered ethnic network externalities and labour market integration, while Letki (2008) has analysed the relationship between community cohesion and ethnic diversity, and Alesina and La Ferrara (2000) have focused on fragmentation. In this literature, ethnic composition is generally summarised into indices of ethnic segregation and ethnic fragmentation (e.g. Duncan and Duncan 1955, Hutchens 2001, 2004); these are often used to measure cultural diversity.

The above observations prompt the question whether it is possible to identify critical success factors that are needed to ensure a smooth and sustainable embeddedness of diverse migrants on local labour markets. As an analytical framework we will resort here to a so-called Pentagon model which has frequently been used to map out the critical drivers of complex policy issues (see, e.g., Nijkamp 2008 and Nijkamp and Pepping 2007). It seems plausible that – in the context of migration policy assessment – five such key conditions can be identified that can be incorporated in this Pentagon model (see Figure 2). These factors will now concisely be described.

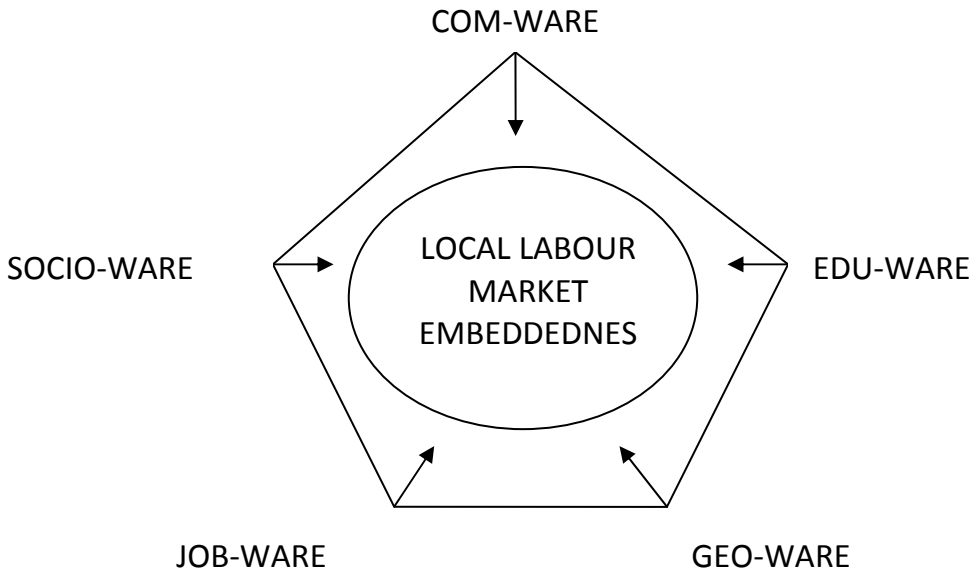

Figure 2. Pentagon model on local labour market embeddednesss of migrants

- com-ware — all physical and virtual facilities that favour communication among people (e.g. language proficiency in relation to social capital)
- edu-ware — all investments in human talent that enhance someone's performance (e.g. skills, training or education in the framework of human capital development)
- geo-ware — all spatial and geographic conditions that enhance the economic potential of a place through an improvement of accessibility to local labour markets (sometimes also called territorial capital)
- job-ware — all new spatially varying facilitating socio-economic conditions that shape new jobs for migrants (e.g. regional innovation capital)
- socio-ware — new institutional managements (be it formal or informal) that favour access and entry to a better labour market performance (in particular, institutional capital)

The empirical research challenge is of course to measure the above Pentagon factors in an empirical sense, so that they can be used in applied case studies. There is indeed a serious lack of solid statistical information on the socio-economic impacts of various categories of migrants. This also hampers the development of relevant and effective policies that might stimulate successful foreign immigration. This lack of policy-relevant information may prompt unjustified statements on negative consequences of large immigration flows or unfocussed – and thus ineffective and inefficient – policies on foreign immigration. What is next needed to develop a sound and balanced societal dialogue and a systematic policy research agenda on migration effects is most likely the design of a broadly composed SWOT-analysis as a stepping stone for a more comprehensive migration impact assessment. Important ingredients of such a SWOT analysis will be presented in a final section.

5. A SWOT Framework for Migration Impact Analysis

Migration is not a neutral phenomenon in a complex and dynamic space-economy. The literature shows that the impact of migration on welfare in both the receiving and sending countries depends heavily on the flexibility of different labour markets. As shown above, the labour market impact of migration has been examined in a large number of applied studies in Europe and elsewhere. These studies rely often on a cross-section of either regions or branches, and use inter alia variations in migrant density in order to identify the differential impact of migration on wages and employment in one or more regions. The results of many of these studies show that migration has in general only a marginal impact on wages and employment of natives in the receiving countries. Crowding-out effects – if they exist – appear to be negligible.

On the other hand, as many studies show, migration provides many socio-economic benefits and contributes also to economic growth and the creation of new jobs in many regions and cities. Economic growth and the creation of new jobs are strongly associated with the willingness of business life to take up chances across regions, while the supply of jobs is instrumental in guiding the flow of people seeking work. As an illustration: regional labour mobility in the EU-15 is low –only about 1 out of 200 workers changes residence every year compared with 5 in the United States in spite of large income differentials within and across countries in Europe (Boeri and Brücker 2005). Hence, immigration from outside the European Union can play a potentially very important role for the creation of a higher level of labour mobility in Europe. If labour mobility occurs in Europe, it is largely due to international migration (Zimmermann 2005). Europe is a region where migration may especially become useful from a socio-economic perspective. In the context of an ageing population and a need for certain skills, migrants may offer an important economic contribution. The study by Boeri and

Brücker (2005) shows that international migration can in principle significantly increase income per capita in Europe. They have estimated that at the given wage and productivity gap between Western and Eastern Europe, migration of 3% of the Eastern population to the West could increase total EU GDP by up to 0.5%. The contributions of migrants to economic growth, and to a wide array of socio-economic benefits will now be further examined in the present section by using a SWOT (strength-weakness opportunities-threats)-analysis.

It cannot be denied that migration inflows exert a great variety of socio-economic and socio-cultural effects on society. Some of these effects may show up as measurable costs or benefits, others may be characterized by qualitative factors, while again others may have the features of potential future opportunities and threats which might materialize into measurable impacts at some stage in the future. To offer a systematic overview of the various effects it is meaningful to use here a SWOT-analysis. The indicative SWOT table that has been constructed here as a first stepping-stone for a more mature migration impact assessment may assume the following form (see Table 1).

It goes without saying that a further operationalisation of this SWOT table calls for extensive empirical research. The observations presented in the previous sections suggest that migration induces a great variety of positive direct and spill-over effects, not only on purely economic grounds, but also from a broader societal perspective. Clearly, there are evidently negative effects, but experiences world-wide suggest that such effects tend to be mitigated over time, while the intensity of such negative externalities depends critically on the skill levels of migrants and on effective migration policies in the host country.

In conclusion, migration means a change in demographic composition of the host country, accompanied by a wide variety of socio-economic, financial, cultural and societal effects. This calls for a broadly-composed migration impact assessment, preferably in the form of a comprehensive SWOT-analysis, covering a time horizon of at least one generation. The main question to be addressed then will be whether the expected positive returns on migration in the long run will compensate for some of the short-term transaction costs over a shorter time horizon. Economic arguments can help here to lay an empirical foundation for a sound political trade-off.

Table 1. A SWOT table for migration impact analysis

S	**W**
Labour Market • employment / jobs • wage level • labour productivity • vacancies on labour market • varied labour supply/flexibility	*Labour Market* • labour force participation • crowding-out effects • unemployment • dual labour market structure • educational and skills level
Economic development • income/GDP • economic growth • trade and tourism • balance of payment • entrepreneurship • innovation/competitiveness	*Economic development* • income transfer • rise informal economy • reinforcement traditional sectors • socio-economic position youth • contribution to social capital • emergence of closed market niches
Collective sector • tax revenues • contribution to social security system (pensions, social transfer payments) • contribution to the provisions of public service (e.g., health care systems	*Collective sector* • tax evasion • unemployment benefits • use of care systems by immigrants
Cultural diversity • melting pot/diversity • creativity • social support systems / networks & bonds • open society	*Cultural diversity* • ghetto formation/ethnic enclaves • linguistic ability • integration/loyalty to host country • imbalance in age/education structure
External Effects • urban vitality • varied socio-cultural eco-system • self-organizing social system	*External Effects* • environmental quality/quality of life • criminality • local self-identity
O	**T**
Large ethnic market segment Product variety International flavour in goods supply Cultural-economic enrichment Creative entrepreneurship Business break-out strategies Contribution to ageing problem	Erosion Social welfare state Magnet role of niche groups Dual society with low integration Loss of social trust Low-tech stigma Decline of local cultural identity Ghetto formation in cities

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